● 431
425
428

Shluh MW11

[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: ṣaheb or amddak-
221 $k^{w}$el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd $l^{c}$ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./

571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
●431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counter-part of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A "good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba[c] girl and thus, through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets, it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean. Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the Haouz and to the Chaouīa. The contact between these two rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state, in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
[571] political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma[c]qil, to the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

793 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Abdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
● [431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

554 /224 cont./
+634
[692] /footnote 2 continued/ sullied by partiality than that of the inflas, whose rapacity is feared.

[585] [586] [428] Marriages and divorces are concluded in his presence. He conducts the proceedings for the apportionment of inheritances and then appropriates a small part of the estates. He punishes according to the ʿorf -- the custom -- crimes and offenses, and [681] imposes the fines that are proper for each mistake. The money thus collected is divided into three parts: the first goes to the moqaddem; the second is for the taqbilt, which the inflas consider that they represent completely in this circumstance; the last part constitutes a small reserve fund for the expenses of hospitality.

The moqaddem's authority varies according to his wealth [292] and personal situation. If he is already, because of the power [613] of his "ikhs," an important notable, he is seen, clothed in garb /225/ of white wool, which manifests his high rank, to delib- [591] erate, to fix the round of hospitality, to accept the "ʿar" [754] /protector relationship based on a conditional curse/ of foreigners [574] who ask for protection, and to have given to one who offers him [431] a sacrifice some grain and walnuts by contribution of the whole [628] canton. He concludes alliances with neighboring cantons and [574] presides at the "tinoubga," festivals given on the occasion of visits by foreign warriors. If the moqaddem, on the contrary, is a man without influence, he effaces himself before the "inflas" or the "ʿawan," who compete to have all the disputes settled to the advantage of their family. When the year has passed, the [666] moqaddem brings the inflas together and calls for his replacement. As an exception his post is renewed for a year, "if his magistrature has been happy," but never longer.

[198] As a result of the general tendency toward the development of personal power, people in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in our day somewhat scorn the effaced moqaddems who abide by the ancient tradition, according to which they would be only the agents of their brothers. One who does not know how to speak

/227 cont./ One still sees
*634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 fered as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

*634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[184] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to
the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied
by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even proverbial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
[578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to which they are entitled (1).

[671] 1. Certain customary regulations gravely discuss this problem of distribution, and people consent to close their eyes to the wrong done to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on condition that the latter take only one single mouthful from the dish, through simple politeness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt /Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/, communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

/232 cont./

*634 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with 648 the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids [651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional •[431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the 578 small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas 726 is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord 628 and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/247 cont./

466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the meqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] [177] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a [651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened. 735 794 •431 On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of har- [465] vests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/248 cont./

735 794 431 191 themselves strictly of all duties incumbent upon them as members of the Mussulman community, but the community, for them, is restricted to the tribe -- or even the fraction -- and they do not conceive of the idea of bringing together in the hands of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the resources of the whole Mussulman community" (2).

2. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 51-52. The same applies to the administration of the habous /wakf/ of mosques entrusted by the "jema$^{c}$a" of the Jbala to Nadirs /functionaries charged with conserving the property of the mosque/ of the tribe or fraction, or to the descendants of a Marabout, ibid., p. 175. Compare the managers of the habous property among the Djbala with the oukil /financial agent/ of the Kabyle mosque. Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, p. 35.

423 III. Absence of collective properties. -- In the territories of the Sous populated by sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ one would look in vain for collective lands belonging in joint possession to tribes or fractions.

423 191 In the regions of Morocco in which tribes or entire confederations have recently disputed the possession of the soil, like the plains of the northern Gharb and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, one understands that individual ownership has not yet been able to assert itself in the course of a state of war that sets against each other groups /249/ constituted for defending or conquering a territory. On the contrary, in a country where the Berbère /Berber/ must make his fields himself by rolling stones on the flank of the torrents in order to create terraces, or work tenaciously in the minuscule gardens of the oases, each one is master of his possessions and disposes of them as he pleases. In the summit region

175 /224 cont./
*634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 III. The first financial resources of the chief -- The al-
556 ways difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ame-
661 liorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are
556 very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is
434 acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it
661 cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great
[681] schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts re-
[681] ceived at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/311 cont./

175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen, Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the last independent factions of the inaccessible summits grouped around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements approved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force, now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, possessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
• [431] "his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./
175 their wishes to him" (1).
*634
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554
•[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important
[178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting
*631 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order
*634 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If
619 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction
616 of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last
616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain
121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the
648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that
133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[796] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
175 power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
791 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
792 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
554 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
• [431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

*631 /382 cont./
175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
•431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Haj
159 ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
*631 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
571 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
574 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
431 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles, 12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
*631 ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
[203] of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[431] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where, away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère /Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the